



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE TRUE STORY OF THE JAMESON RAID AS RELATED TO ME BY JOHN HAYS HAMMOND

BY ALLEYNE IRELAND

I

THE amazing revelations of German intrigue which within the past few months have come from points as far apart as Buenos Aires and Constantinople, Petrograd and Tokyo, have stirred in my memory the recollection of a certain telegram signed by the same William, King of Prussia and German Emperor, whose impudent and mendacious emissaries have set the mark of indelible infamy on the brow of their Imperial accomplice.

“From Wilhelm, Emperor, Rex, Berlin: to President Kruger, Pretoria, South African Republic,” so ran the address, and thus the message:

I tender you my sincere congratulations that without appealing to the help of friendly Powers you and your people have been successful in opposing with your own forces the armed bands that have broken into your country to disturb the peace, in restoring order, and in maintaining the independence of your country against attacks from without.

Like many of the German documents which have recently come to light, this message is clothed in language which imparts to it a flavor of innocence and of sympathy. It is not until the surrounding circumstances are carefully examined that the telegram can be assigned its proper place in the dark record of German diplomacy.

American citizens played a prominent part in the events referred to in the Kaiser's telegram, and the account of an eye-witness may prove of more than passing interest at this time. The story carries the reader to South Africa, where,

in the heart of a pastoral country, nature has buried thousands of feet below the sunburnt plain the world's greatest store of gold.

I may begin my narrative with a meeting held by five hundred Americans in Johannesburg, the mining city of the Transvaal, in December, 1895. What we had met to decide was whether or not we should give our support to a Revolution which was then brewing against the Boer oligarchy.

I was a little late in getting there and, when I entered, the meeting was in disorder. Some of President Kruger's spies had managed to gain admittance and the disturbance they made was so great that the Chairman, Captain Mein—an American and manager of the celebrated Robinson mine—was about to announce an adjournment. I walked rapidly up the aisle, mounted the platform, and secured a hearing. I told the rowdies that if they made any more trouble I'd have them thrown out. Then I explained the exact situation which confronted us.

Our grievances were so well known that there was no need for me to enlarge upon them; all I had to do was to take the sense of those present—and every class of American was represented—on the single question whether the point had not been reached to which the signers of the Declaration of Independence referred when they said:

. . . all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

Nothing is to be found in the Declaration of Independence limiting this principle by latitude, by longitude, or by circumstance: it was a clean-cut hereditary issue, to be faced by us Americans then and there.

The efforts of President Kruger's secret agents, among whom there were many Germans, had been directed for a long time to heading off the Revolution by sowing dissension in the ranks of the mining community, and there was some danger that these attempts might succeed. The ingenious plan was followed of telling the American and other non-British immigrants that the whole affair was nothing but

an English plot to induce us to spend our money and to shed our blood in order that the country should be brought under the British flag.

For the Americans the whole thing hung on the question of the flag; and I knew very well that there was but one way to secure American support for the Revolution and at the same time to establish our action as a genuine internal revolt having no object ulterior to that of destroying the narrow Boer oligarchy, then at the height of its malign and corrupt power, and of setting up in its place a truly representative democracy on the American model. So I made it clear that if the worst came to the worst and we were driven to resort to violence, it was under the Boer flag that we would fight, and that we should have at least the sympathy of many progressive young Boers who were as disgusted as we were with the infamous condition into which the country had been brought by Paul Kruger and his Dutch and German satellites, and had declared that they would not bear arms against the Johannesburgers if the city were attacked.

I concluded my speech by saying, "I will shoot any man who hoists any flag but the Boer flag," an announcement which was vigorously applauded. Out of more than five hundred Americans present all but five voted to take up arms against Kruger; and immediately on the adjournment of the meeting we organized the George Washington Corps and pledged ourselves to the Revolutionary cause.

What the Revolution was about, how it failed, how the leaders, including myself, were sentenced to death, how the death-penalty was commuted, how our point of view was vindicated by the Boer War and by England's measures after the country came under the British flag is what I purpose to tell in the following pages:

When news of the Jameson Raid appeared in thousands of papers in all parts of the world on Tuesday, December 31, 1895, the general impression was created that a swash-buckling Englishman had attempted to overthrow the Government of the South African Republic in order to add its territory to the British Empire. It was not unnatural that this view of the situation should have aroused a widespread feeling of indignation, and that an almost unanimous expression of sympathy with the Boers should have marked the press comment in the United States and on the Continent of Europe.

The outbreak of the South African War four years later revived in the public memory the forgotten incident of the Raid, furnished prejudice or ignorance with fresh material for an anti-British propaganda, gave to pro-Boer sentiment a new and vigorous lease of life, and confirmed in their opinion those who had seen in the Jameson Raid nothing but a brutal act of aggressive imperialism.

Nothing could be more grotesque than the effort which was made to interpret the Johannesburg reform movement—of which the Jameson Raid was no more than a deplorable incident—as an expression of England's imperial policy. It was not the enlightened imperialism of England but the benighted provincialism of Kruger which created in South Africa that profound discontent, that bitter sense of injustice which drove the population of Johannesburg to seek through the agency of an internal revolution those simple, democratic rights which had been denied alike to their respectful petitions and to their constitutional protests.

As I was one of the four members of the Reform Committee sentenced to death by Kruger's specially imported "hanging judge," Gregorowski, it will be readily believed that I retain a very lively recollection of those exciting times. Where my memory flags I can fortunately refresh it by reference to my wife's little volume, *A Woman's Part in a Revolution*—a diary unfaithful only when its authoress fails to record the unwavering support and the devoted efforts which she brought to the aid and comfort of us Americans during events which might well have unnerved a woman who was soon to become a mother.

I went out to South Africa in 1898 as consulting engineer to the firm of Barnato Brothers, one of the largest mine-owners in the Transvaal; but within a year Mr. Cecil Rhodes, at that time Prime Minister of Cape Colony, offered me a position of wider scope and interest in connection with the general development of the mineral deposits in Rhodesia controlled by the British South Africa Company, and the mines at Johannesburg of the Goldfields of South Africa, of which he was the Managing Director and the moving spirit. This offer I was glad to accept, as I knew Rhodes to be a man of large views and progressive methods; and his reputation, great as it was throughout the British Empire, was in nothing greater than in the staunch backing he afforded to men who earned his confidence.

My early work in the Transvaal was such as falls to the lot of any consulting engineer in the gold-fields; and I was too busy investigating the practicability of deep-level mining—a possibility then generally regarded as too remote for serious consideration—to pay any attention to local political conditions. But as my field of observation broadened and my daily routine gave me an increasing familiarity with the economic problems of gold-mining in the Transvaal the conviction was forced upon me that the difficulties which the industry faced were not due to any of those technical obstacles which engineers are employed to overcome but to obstructions deliberately placed in the way of the mining community by the Boer Government.

The circumstances cannot be rightly understood unless the reader has before him certain fundamental facts about the capitalists, the mining population, and the Boers—the chief groups concerned in the brief but dramatic occurrences which involved a large body of Americans in an abortive revolution on the other side of the globe.

The idea that “capitalist” and “rascal” are interchangeable terms is one originally advanced by the anarchists, later taken up by the I. W. W., and since 1912 sedulously employed by many blatant politicians in the United States. The question addressed to capitalists seeking protection from the American Government for their legitimate business interests in Mexico has been: “What are you doing down there? No one asked you to go there; and if you don’t like it, why don’t you get out? You’re only down there to make money anyhow.”

The same question was asked the capitalists who provided the money which raised the Transvaal from the position of a bankrupt State, dependent upon cattle-grazing and primitive agriculture, to that of a wealthy country entering with every prospect of success upon a career of modern development.

Leaving on one side the broad issue between those who describe as honest and praiseworthy and those who stigmatize as dishonest and contemptible the employment of capital to make the world’s resources available for the world’s use, the case of the Transvaal is peculiar in this, that President Kruger issued a formal, public invitation to English capitalists, in which he urged them to come to his country and invest their money in its development, promising them in return

the protection of their interests and a fair influence in the government. It was this invitation, published in the London press in 1884, which overcame the reluctance of English capital, after the Boer War of 1881, to seek employment in the Transvaal.

It is a common delusion that capitalists find something peculiarly attractive in war. This charge may be true when it is applied to the manufacturers of war material; but a moment's reflection should suffice to convince any intelligent man that disorder, destruction, and financial panic—the inseparable companions of armed conflict—are the very things of which capital in general is most afraid; in fact, the timidity of capital has become proverbial.

My work during the past thirty years has brought me in contact with many of the world's largest capitalists—American, English, French, Dutch, Belgian, Canadian, Australian, and German—and upon my advice many millions of dollars have been invested in a score of countries. I can testify that, so far as my own experience goes I have never met a capitalist whose attitude towards war was not that of the average man, namely, that it was the last and most desperate expedient for the remedy of intolerable abuses. To this rule the capitalists of the Transvaal were no exception; and it was only when long-continued misgovernment had been crowned by an open challenge from the Boers to rise and fight for our rights if we thought they were worth it, it was not until President Kruger had declared that the reforms we had petitioned for would be granted only over his dead body, that the mine-owners began to turn their thoughts in the direction of revolt.

The character of the mining population of Johannesburg has been misunderstood when it has not been deliberately misrepresented. The popular American conception of a new mining community is largely based upon our recollection of Bret Harte's heroes. For an imaginative and sensation-loving people it was both easy and agreeable to transfer to South Africa the wild life of Red Gulch and to fill the stage with a lawless and violent mob which, in the intervals between working its claims and murdering one another, found time to drink, to gamble and, occasionally, to sleep.

Nothing could be less like the humdrum routine of the Rand. Johannesburg was much more like a wealthy manufacturing town than a traditional mining camp. There were,

indeed, no miners, as the word was understood out West in the fifties; and our gold mines could be described with greater accuracy as gold factories. The personnel of the mines consisted of a few dozen mining engineers, a few score highly skilled mechanics, a few hundred white miners—chiefly American, Scotch, Welsh, and Cornish—and many thousands of Kaffir laborers.

The life was such as might be found in hundreds of long-settled communities in the Eastern States. Bankers, business men, mining engineers, physicians, surgeons, with their wives and children, made up the "society" of the place; and as these professional men, but especially the mining engineers, were of the highest standing in their several fields, and received munificent salaries, our social existence lacked neither elegance nor culture. What lent an additional charm to our leisure was the constant stream of distinguished visitors which passed through the town. It was not a mere question of "Little Lords looking for Big Game"—to quote my wife's phrase—but of statesmen, scientists, authors, explorers, colonial administrators on their way to or from Europe, America, India, Australia, China, the Cape, and Rhodesia.

Mrs. Hammond and I are agreed that neither in London, nor in Paris, neither in New York nor in Washington, have we found a social life which better deserved the praise of being brilliant. It was a brilliance, too, which owed everything to the personalities of the men and women and nothing to the extraneous elements of pomp and circumstance.

Before passing to another subject I wish to lay particular emphasis on the fact that from the richest capitalist to the well-paid mechanic the white population was a domestic group, living not in bachelor's quarters but in homes.

The population of the Transvaal was, at the time of which I speak, made up of about 750,000 blacks and about 250,000 whites, the Boers numbering not more than 75,000. In the hands of the Boers—that is to say, in the hands of less than one-tenth of the population—was concentrated the whole power of the government, and all political rights. The real situation in the "Republic" centered around the circumstance that 75,000 Boers, paying one-tenth of the taxes, exercised a complete and exclusive sway over 175,000 white immigrants, who paid nine-tenths of the taxes without having a word to say as to how taxation should be levied or its proceeds expended.

The Boers were by no means of one mind as to the justice or the expediency of this system. On the one side was a large majority of the Boers (the reactionary or *dopper* party), with Paul Kruger at its head, which held very tenaciously to the view that having, by fair promises, attracted to the country an immense flow of capital, and this capital being invested in immovable property, such as land, buildings and machinery, it was unnecessary to fulfill pledges made to a population which could leave the country only at the price of financial ruin, and which, in order to avoid that ruin, would remain and submit to any degree of oppression and misrule.

On the other side was a small minority, headed by General Joubert. The attitude of this minority was faithfully represented in a speech made before the Upper Chamber of the Transvaal Legislature in August, 1895, by a Mr. Jeppe, a Boer. The occasion was the presentation of a Petition signed by 35,483 Uitlanders (the name given by the Boers to the immigrant population) praying that political representation might be granted to them. In the course of his speech Mr. Jeppe said:

This petition has been, practically, signed by the entire population of the Rand. It contains the name of the millionaire capitalist on the same page as that of the miner, that of the owner of half a district next to that of a clerk. It embraces also all nationalities. And it bears, too, the signatures of some who have been born in this country, who know no other fatherland than this Republic, but whom the law regards as strangers. Then, too, are the newcomers. They have settled for good. They have built Johannesburg, one of the wonders of the age. They own half the soil, they pay at least three-quarters of the taxes. Nor are they persons who belong to a subservient race. They come from countries where they freely exercised political rights, which can never be long denied to free-born men.

Dare we refer them to the present law, which first expects them to wait for fourteen years, and even then pledges itself to nothing? It is a law which denies all rights even to their children born in this country. What will become of us or our children on the day when we shall find ourselves in a minority of perhaps one in twenty, without a single friend amongst the other nineteen, among those who will then tell us they wished to be brothers, but we by our own act made them strangers in the Republic. Old as the world is, has any attempt like ours ever succeeded for long?

The foregoing statement by a Boer member of the Boer Legislature presents only the political side of the Uitlander case, and it must be supplemented by a recital of the grievances out of which the political agitation arose. It is essential

that the reader should understand that the Reform movement in the Transvaal was the direct outcome of the conviction that so long as the whole political and administrative machinery of the country was controlled by the Boers no remedy would be found for the abuses from which we suffered.

I am positive that if Kruger had been content to give Johannesburg decent government the demand for political rights would have been postponed for many years and, indeed, might never have been made. Nor was it a question of a number of Britishers using the grievances as an excuse for bringing the country under the British flag, for there was a large number of Americans on the spot, who at no time could have had much sympathy with such a programme, and who, on account of the recent trouble between England and the United States over the Venezuelan boundary, were strongly averse to giving the Reform movement an exclusively English complexion.

Our grievances may thus be summarized and they must be interpreted in the light of the fact that the Uitlanders had purchased from the Boers more than one-half of the land of the Transvaal; that they owned more than nine-tenths of the property, and that they paid more than nine-tenths of all the taxes raised in the country, and that in spite of the squandering of its revenues the Transvaal Government had accumulated in its Treasury more than six millions of dollars.

1. We suffered from a high death-rate and from much sickness through the lack of a sewage system and of a clean water-supply.

2. Out of \$310,000 allotted in Johannesburg for education less than \$4,000 was applied to the Uitlander children, although they outnumbered the Boer children in the town, and their parents supplied the money which built the schools and supported them. The actual figures worked out at about 50 cents a head for our children and \$40 a head for the Boer children; and at that, our children were not allowed to use or to study English in the schools. This caused the deepest resentment, for our children heard no language but Dutch in the schools, and they were being gradually estranged from the ideals which have been perpetuated by English speech.

3. Although we had built the city and found practically all the money to run it, we had no voice whatever in its government, were dominated by a corrupt and violent Boer

police, and were denied a free press and the right of public meeting.

4. The mining industry was harassed by Government monopolies which forced up the cost of living and of working the mines, and which were farmed out with the object of filling the pockets of Kruger's favorites. Of these monopolies one of the most burdensome was that which compelled us to purchase our dynamite from a single privileged firm, which paid a royalty to certain members of the Transvaal Government. Not only were we forced to pay about three million dollars a year tribute in the form of excess profits to the holder of the monopoly, but the quality of the dynamite was so poor that fatal accidents were of common occurrence.

5. The railroad policy of the Transvaal was so framed as to enable the railroad monopoly to charge extortionate freight rates. Johannesburg was connected with the Cape Colony-Free State railroad, over which most of our supplies came, by a line fifty miles long under the control of the Netherlands South Africa Railway Company, whose shareholders were entirely German, Dutch, and Boer. So high was the freight schedule on this line that it was cheaper for us to unload our consignments at railhead of the Cape Line, re-load them into ox-wagons, and so take them to Johannesburg across the drifts, or fords, by which alone the Vaal River could be crossed. In order to deprive us of this means of getting ourselves out of the clutches of his railroad monopoly, Kruger closed the drifts on October 1, 1895. But in doing this he over-reached himself. His action was in clear defiance of his treaty obligations to England; and after consultation with the Government of the Cape Colony (which pledged itself to support England with men and money if it became necessary to enforce her treaty rights) the British Government informed Pretoria that the drifts must be re-opened and must remain open. In response to this ultimatum Kruger rescinded his order.

6. In the interest of the liquor monopoly the Boer Government allowed an unlimited amount of cheap and fiery spirits to be sold to the Kaffirs. There was, in consequence, a great deal of drunkenness among our laborers; and as the liquor dealers were allowed to sell this wretched stuff at the mouth of the mines to men about to go down the shafts, there was much loss of life and of property from this cause.

7. President Kruger and his Executive Council exerted

a constant pressure upon the judges of the Transvaal Supreme Court, the only barrier which stood between the Johannesburgers and the rule of an unbridled despotism. In 1897 the condition became so scandalous that the Boer judges themselves closed the court, declaring that it was impossible to administer justice under the coercion to which they were subjected by the executive.

8. The Boers asserted the right to draft for service in their wars against the natives those very Americans to whom they denied the right of citizenship. It was through a little ruse on my part that this right to conscript Americans was never enforced. I called a meeting one night to which I invited the managers and other American officials of the mines under my management. The meeting was supposed to be a secret one, but we took care to have present an American whom we knew to be a paid spy of the Boer Government. We passed a unanimous resolution that we would resist all efforts of the Boers to send us to the front to fight the Kaffirs, and that if, in face of our protests, we were drafted, our first shots would be fired at the Boer officers. This resolution was duly reported by the contemptible American spy, and no effort was ever made to conscript us. In this we were more fortunate than the British, of whom a number were forced into the Boer Army.

To this brief survey of our grievances I must add a few words about a man whose cultivated mind and legal talents were employed by Kruger to furnish the finesse which was entirely foreign to his own character. The agreeable but sinister personality of Dr. Leyds, the Transvaal State Attorney, was almost as well known as that of his Boer master. I mention him here because it was a matter of common knowledge that he was the go-between of Kruger and the Kaiser. On January 27th, 1895, Kruger, speaking at a banquet in honor of the Kaiser's birthday, said: "I shall ever promote the interests of Germany . . . the time has come to knit ties of the closest friendship between Germany and the South African Republic."

Shortly after this Dr. Leyds went to Berlin—to have his throat examined!—and he was in Berlin when the Kaiser sent the telegram of which I have already spoken.

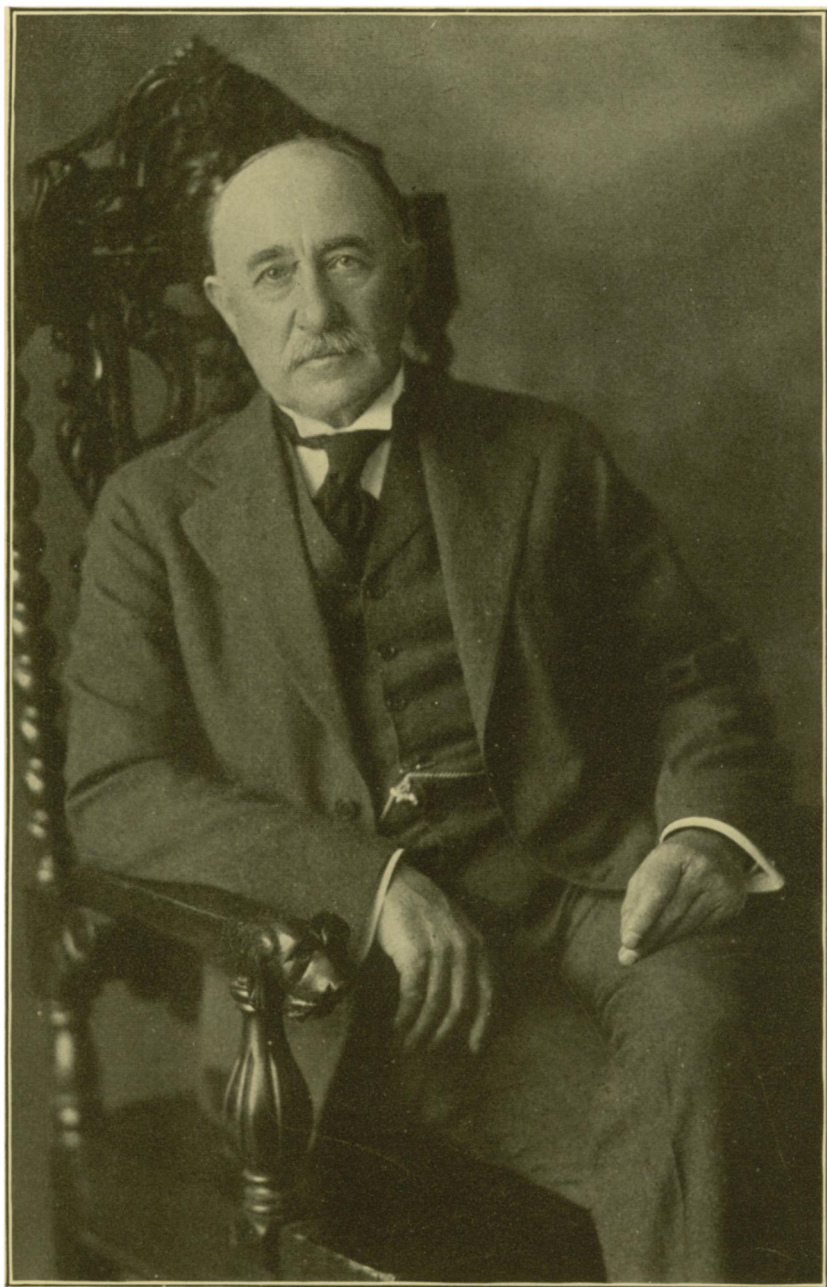
That part of the Kaiser-Kruger plot which related to keeping the Uitlanders in a state of simmering revolt, Dr. Leyds handled with skill and success. The other part, Ger-

many's proposal to send troops to the Transvaal at the time of the Jameson Raid, went to pieces when England mobilized her flying squadron after the publication of the Kaiser-Kruger telegram. Kruger never forgave the Kaiser for this back-down. He confided to a friend the opinion that there was no profit in dealing with a monarch who allowed his foreign policy to be dictated by his grandmother.

During 1895 general conditions in the Transvaal went from bad to worse. The Boers became ever more arbitrary and overbearing; and their intentions showed up very clearly when they began to construct forts dominating the city of Johannesburg. One deputation after another was sent to Kruger to state our grievances, but without effect. Finally he told one deputation that he would make no promises of any kind, and he brought the interview to a close by saying: "If you want your grievances redressed, why don't you get guns and fight for what you call your rights?"

We took him at his word.

(To be concluded)



JOHN HAYS HAMMOND